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FEATURES OF LAUAN LIFE: *A*, LAUAN WITH DIGGING STICK FOR PLANTING TARO; *B*, FIJIAN BOYS WITH YAMS (KELI USU); *C*, WOMEN DRESSED FOR LAKALAKA DANCE; *D*, VILLAGE GREEN TUMBOU; *E*, GRAVE OF TUI MOALA AT NAROI

[End Plate 2]

1: Hocart: Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929
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Lakemba

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQu Lau OQu
Kambara

semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katūmba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *vanua ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "(*name*) . . . *na*" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "*Vinaka*" (Very good).

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Chief of crops enters in crouching position and sits crosslegged in lower part of the house, facing the chief. The people making the offering enter and sit in the lower part of the house. "Ka vaka vanua, saka" (The offering of the land, Sir).

Herald: "Sa vinaka mo i vala mai" (You may present the offering here).

Chief of crops: puts the fruit down, claps twice with hands crosswise, takes fruit, and advances on his knees. When kneeling on his right knee he turns his bent body to the left. When on the left knee he turns to the right. "O . . . ua." He places the fruit before the chief, claps twice slowly, twice rapidly and places his hands on the nuts. "Koniketo vaka tha saka na kasa mua lala, ai vono vei keimundou a turanga ai vono ni vanua vei irattou a matua. A mbala-mbalavu nonggou yangatha sosoraki thake vaka-turanga tu yani ka ndonu ka vu . . . ra." (The young bunch of coconuts, the offering to you, the chief, from the people of the land is poorly presented. The lengthy speech of presentation is offered to you in chiefly fashion with honest mind and that is all). He pushes the nuts forward.

Herald: "Vinaka" (good). He takes the fruit and claps three times. "Um . . . " (a sound expressing that he is pleased and likes the fruit). "Au a taura manda nga ni kamananga vakaturanga ka rika tu mai vei keimundou na matua ka vangara tu mai vei iratou na turanga. Au taura kau masulakina ka ndonu mai thake vua na kalou ka mbalavu tu manda nga nomundou mbula." (I accept the chiefly offerings which have come from you, the ripe fruits for the chief. I accept them gratefully. May you live long).

Herald: "Mana' E . . . ntchina! A . . . munduo! (Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!). Claps three times. "A . . . munduo!" Claps three times.

The fullest information concerning the first fruit rites was obtained on Fulanga, where Waisea said that formerly there was only one offering, the offering of the fruits of the trees. The first fruits of Muanaithake, Waisea's village, were taken to the god house called Tambanikasanga on the piece of land named Tara Nggilo. The fruit was eaten by the priest and his subclan, which belonged to the Nggilo clan.

Today there are three offerings made to the chief of Fulanga: the offering of the fruits of the trees (*sevu ni vua ni kathu*); the offering of the fruits of the garden land (*sevu ni nggele*); and the offering of fish (*sevu ni ika*).

The chief of crops has charge of the first fruits. The offering of the fruits of the trees is held annually for each of the three most important fruit crops—the *ivi* (Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus edulis*), the *ndawa (Pometia pinnata)*, and the *uto* (breadfruit). Before the season for each crop, the chief of crops declares a tabu on it. Thereafter no one is allowed to eat the fruit until the tabu is lifted. When the crop is ripe the tabu is lifted by the chief of crops, and the first fruits of the crop are collected from each village on the island. They are taken to Muanaithake and presented ceremonially to the chief of Fulanga by the chief of crops and the chief's administrator. The feast is divided among the clans of the island by the chief of the ceremonial ground. The offering of first fruits is held in the fruit season between February and March. The offering of the fruits of the garden land is held annually for each of the most important garden crops: sweet potato in April, yam in May, and sweet yam in July. The procedure follows the pattern described above. The offerings of fruit and of garden produce are considered the offerings of the land (*sevu ni vanua*).

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ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast (*i ngguravi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Nairindamu, Fulanga, a *mbua* tree, which belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbua ni serua*. The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the reception of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

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Na wesi (spear dance) chanted by Tatchini of Kambara 575 539

Takiva na ika ni wai ndroudro,
Kithoka na ika soeni loló,
Ndua a theva urea mo.
E sa urea sa lutu koto.
Raunama nongguo
Kena wai tambu nda vakarorougo.
E tumbu a tha kau nggai ndroudro.
E ruru a tha kau sunggai koto.
Koi au a wai vuni rongorongo.

They catch the fish in the current.
They spear the fish at high tide,
A southeast wind begins to blow.
When it blows there is no chance (to fish).
The fishermen turn homeward.
The sea becomes still,
Then it swells as I go back (to the beach).
So I go home and the storm abates.
I listen to the secret of the sea.

Volau, a *meke* master of Namuka, creates new dances of the following types: *seasea*, *vakamalolo*, *meke ni malungu* (club dance), and *meke iri* (fan dance). He was born on Oneata and his father was born on Matuku, which, according to the natives, is a *meke* making center. When the people of Namuka want a new *meke* they present kava to Volau. He accepts the kava and in the evening it is prepared. On the first or the second evening, while he is drinking kava, the god comes to him and he expresses the words, the rhythm, and the movements of a *meke*. He teaches it to the people, who must learn it quickly because Volau forgets it immediately. 575

ECONOMIC LIFE

PROPERTY

Land Scarcity

Scarcity of fertile soil is a basic factor in the economic life of the southern Lau Islands. On the limestone islands the supply of garden land is fixed and limited. Practically all the garden land that can be profitably cultivated is in use. On the volcanic islands, the supply of fertile land exceeds the demand. 311

On Kambara all the best land (*nggele ntchina*, true soil) and some of the second grade land has been cleared and is used for gardens. In years of normal rainfall the supply of garden produce remains more or less constant, and garden production is only slightly below the needs of the population. New land is rarely cleared because the natives think it will not repay the effort. They believe that extensive cultivation of more second grade land might increase production somewhat in years of normal rainfall, but that in dry years there would be a shortage of food regardless of how much land was under cultivation. They think that more intensive cultivation, by native methods, of the land already cleared would increase the yield sufficiently to supply their needs in normal years with less labor and more profit. However, several factors work against intensive cultivation. First, the dislike which the nobles feel toward work on the land has had an effect upon the whole popula- 241 311 241 311 461

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Kambara

tion. Many men consider garden work arduous and tiresome and spend as little time as possible on their gardens, preferring to spear fish, sail, or do carpenter work, or to do nothing. Others work sporadically. Second, unequal distribution of the garden land reduces the output. Some clans, especially those in the land phratry, own two or three times as much garden land as others. If a clan is rich in land and poor in man power, at least part of its land is neglected through lack of labor, even though some of it is occasionally lent for cultivation to another clan. On Kambara the clans Vuanikathu and Nawi, both of which lack young men, own more land than they use. Matasoata and Tanggu are poor in land. Third, the *kerekere* system (pp. 207-208) discourages conscientious work on the land.

The headman of a prominent clan on Kambara owns good garden lands, which he cultivates with great care and patience. His crops are large with a relatively high yield per acre and he always has enough food. His garden produce is constantly solicited by relatives. In fact, the headman's industry has slackened that of his relatives. One day he told me that during the past three days 20 baskets of sweet potatoes had been stolen from his garden. He knew the thief was a relative but did nothing about it because if the theft were exposed the prestige of the clan would suffer.

Industrious individuals are rare but they enjoy high social prestige. If one member of a clan has a good crop and food is needed for a birth, marriage, or death feast within the clan, he is expected to contribute the bulk of his produce. If he does not do so, he loses prestige. One young man of Undu had the only yam garden on Kambara and had given it great care. While he was absent from the island toward harvest time, his grandfather died and his clan consumed the yams in the death feast.

On Wangava, claimed by Naivotavota clan, Kambara, only a small part of the best garden land is utilized. The gardens have been deserted because of fear of evil spirits which bring illness. But, aside from this fear, one clan cannot furnish the labor necessary to take full advantage of its natural wealth and other clans hesitate to solicit land on a spirit-infested islet.

On Fulanga, all the land which will yield even a meager crop is under cultivation. All possible garden lands have long been cleared and the supply is fixed. Intensive methods are uniformly employed and production is just about at the maximum under native methods. Garden work is so difficult that every man who harvests a crop must be industrious. Though Fulangans work much harder than their neighbors, part of their food must be collected from the bush and imported. The land situation on Ongea is similar to that on Fulanga except that the food problem is not so acute.

Namuka and Mothe have more than enough food. Only part of the best, fertile land of Mothe is used for gardens, which yield large crops with a

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Kambara

minimum of effort. Little new land is cleared, though clearing land on the forest-free, volcanic islands does not require the labor involved in clearing the thick jungles of the limestone islands.

Land Ownership and Inheritance

A government land commission is engaged in the difficult task of surveying the land in Fiji and establishing native land titles. Fortunately, at the time of my visit the commission had not reached southern Lau and titles to the land had not been disturbed or legalized. However, land ownership is complicated by the changes made in the system of ownership after the Tongan conquest of the chiefdom of Lakemba. Moreover, there is rivalry between some clans regarding land ownership, especially if there is any doubt as to claims. The genealogical method was found invaluable in working out problems of land ownership and inheritance.

The land is divided into three classes: garden land (*nggele*), village land (*yavu*), and bush (*lekutu*). Natural demarcations—trees, rocks, and creeks—are used to define boundaries.

The hamlet system of land ownership (p. 35) is clearly seen on Mothe. The somewhat circular island, rising gradually from the shore lowlands to a central ridge, is divided into pie-shaped sections, extending from the center to the shore. Each section is owned by a clan and bears the same name as the clan. The sections contain hamlet sites, which the natives claim were formerly occupied by the proprietary clans. Even today, although all the clans live in clan-hamlets in the two adjacent villages of Nasau and Korotolu in south Mothe, the old divisions are observed, each clan confining its gardening, collecting, trapping, and fishing to its own section. Each clan also owns its own hamlet site within the village.

Under the Tongan system the garden land and the village lots were owned by the clans, and the bush was free. Fishing rights in the lagoons were divided between the villages adjacent to them. The Tongans did not change the ownership or the names of the garden and village land. The land was measured in fathoms by using a piece of sennit (*mangimangi*). According to informants, a piece of land was called *mangimangi*. For instance, land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan was called *mangimangi ki Vuanikathu*.

The Tongan system may be illustrated by the land division on Kambara. The garden lands of several clans form a geographic unit and every clan division has a name. The clan garden land as a whole has a name. The clan village land forms a unit unless the old division has been obscured by the expansion of the village or the clan. This is also named. The clan land is administered by the clan headman. There is no fixed rule regarding the division of the clan land. It is usually divided between the subclans. Plots

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and develop a finer shell and flavor than they would in the open sea. On the shore at one corner of the lake are a few shelters of pandanus and coconut leaves where the turtles rest and dig their nest holes. The natives say the old female watches the eggs when they are about to hatch and that before the young ones reach the water she eats some of them.

It is said that in olden days the chiefs used the lake as a *breeding pond* for turtles and that since then the Naivotavota, Tanggu, and Saumua (Tokalau) clans have replenished the supply of young turtles from the open sea.

Near Nggalinggali is a turtle fence 5 meters in diameter, in which turtles to be butchered are kept. The fence is circular and consists of sticks rammed into the ground near the beach. The sticks stand only 3 cm. apart and are tied together with *wali* string.

Gardening

New land is rarely cleared. When it is cleared, a flat spot with a few big trees is selected. A fire is lighted around the trunk, and soon the bark dries and loosens. After a few months the foliage drops and as the years pass the branches drop, but the trunks remain a long time. On one spot, said to have been cleared 15 years ago, the big, white trunks are still standing and sweet yam vines climb on them. Sometimes cleared land is not used for a garden, either because the native has not had enough energy to loosen the soil and prevent shrubs and bushes from growing, or because an evil spirit is discovered in the neighborhood.

Garden Produce

As far as possible, crops are rotated. Usually on the best land on most of the islands crops are rotated as follows: a crop of sweet potatoes, another crop of sweet potatoes, a fallow year, a crop of *kawai* (sweet yams) which are stringy and are cultivated only on islands with poor soil. The following rotation is considered ideal: yams, sweet potatoes, manioc. The land is then allowed to lie fallow for a year or even longer. Soil conditions, however, do not permit this preferable rotation except perhaps on Mothe, Komo, and Namuka. Since on all the islands a larger acreage is planted with manioc than with yams or sweet potato, two crops of manioc are often planted in succession on the same land.

Manioc

The varieties of manioc (called manioke; forms of the cultivated Manihot) are: *mbarisondoi* (many branched); *tula tolu* (three months, because it ought to be planted in three months only—February, March, and April); *niumea* (the natives claim that this variety came from Noumea, New Caledonia);

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manioke falawa (flour manioc, from which much starch can be extracted); "many knotted" manioc; *manioke ni India* (manioc of India).

Old Moto of Undu says:

Manioc has not been here always. Our parents have told us about the time when manioc came here. It was introduced to Vanua Vatu and from there it came here. The first known variety was *manioke ni India*. It was very poisonous, and had to be washed carefully. The wash water could not be given to pigs, because it might kill them. It was very stringy and only the starch could be used. *Vula tolu* is the most recently imported variety. We have known it only about five years. *Manioke falawa* has been here about ten years. All manioc except *manioke ni India* has come while I have been on earth. Maybe *niumea* was here when I was a child, but I do not think so.

Moto's statements are substantiated by Kalo of Fulanga and other aged informants.

On Namuka the *mbavisondoi* is the most common variety; on Mothe recently the *vula tolu* and *manioke falawa*; on Kambara, Ongea, and Fulanga the "many knotted" manioc is planted more than any other variety. The colors of the varieties differ from the whitish pale green of the *vula tolu* to a rusty red of the *mbavisondoi*. The natives do not agree as to which variety yields the largest and most reliable crops, but *vula tolu* is said to be becoming more and more popular because the root is most tender.

Manioc is planted throughout the year by men only. Natives say, however, that most of it is planted from April through August. The land is loosened and cleaned roughly with any kind of digging stick or occasionally with an imported 4-pronged fork. On Kambara six forks pass from hand to hand.

Manioc is planted as follows:

The tip is cut off the stalk with a cane knife. It is cut into pieces from 0.30 to 1.30 meters in length. Holding these ends in a basket or under his arm, the man carries them to the garden and shoves the stalks about 25 cm. into the ground, leaving 5 to 75 cm. exposed to the light. Always four plants are placed 38 cm. apart in a square while the squares are about 1 meter apart. Except on Mothe, the planted ends do not protrude more than 10 cm. above the ground. On Mothe stalks on the same square may protrude from 13 cm. to 75 cm. The natives of Mothe claim those with the long ends, after they have once started sprouting, hold down the weeds and their roots develop more quickly than those with short ends. Often a stalk is cut from the newly harvested manioc, the hole from which the plant was pulled is leveled, and the stalk planted immediately.

After manioc is planted the soil is no longer worked, no fertilizer is spread out, and no charm used to influence the growth.

Manioc must grow at least one year. It is still good when two years old, but if it grows older it turns stringy, finally woody, and the thick bark must be cut off.

In the morning, before the sun has reached the garden, men go out (rarely together) with one or two baskets to bring in the day's supply of manioc. With both hands the whole plant is pulled out. The roots are sometimes cut

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off with a cane knife or more frequently they are twisted until they loosen from the plant, then are thrown into a basket. Old plants are left lying on the spot or, if they are to be replanted immediately, thrown aside.

Manioc roots differ greatly in size and quality on the various islands. Manioc grown on the volcanic islands and on Namuka is better than that from the other islands of Lau and is free of strings. Manioc grown on poor limestone soil contains more starch and less water per pound. On the rest of the limestone islands roots weigh 0.75 to 1.5 pounds. On Mothe, a volcanic island, roots average about 4 pounds. On Namuka the average root weighs about 3 pounds.

Manioc must be eaten on the day or on the day after it has been taken out of the ground or be preserved by fermentation.

Sweet potatoes

The sweet potato (*kumala, Ipomoea batatas*) ranks next to manioc as daily food, but the Lauan tires of sweet potato. Adults claim that during the last 10 to 15 years the sweet potato has deteriorated, due to a worm which eats into the tubers. Many sweet potatoes, especially on Kambara, show dry, black decayed spots inside.

The varieties of sweet potato found in Lau are: *kumala ndamundamu* (red sweet potato—red skin, dark pink flesh); *kumala siliva* (brown skin, yellow flesh); *kumala ni Samoa* (red skin, yolk-colored flesh); *kumala vula* (whitish skin, white flesh). Much *kumala ni Samoa* is grown on Namuka, an island known for its good sweet potatoes. All varieties are found on all the islands.

Moto of Undu states:

In olden days we had no sweet potatoes here. My father told me he remembered very well when the first sweet potato came here. The first to come was the *kumala vula*. Old people told us it came from Tonga. But sweet potato was here before manioc came, because old people said, "When manioc came here we only planted a twig as we had done with the sweet potato. All the twigs died so we had no manioc and almost no sweet potato, because we had planted manioc on the sweet potato land."

Moto's statements are substantiated by other aged informants.

If the land has lain fallow it is cleared with a cane knife. Bush roots are pried loose with sticks and pulled out by hand. Clearing is hard labor.

The planting of sweet potatoes was done as follows:

A man gathers plantings from a patch by cutting or pinching off stalks 30 cm. long. The stalks are set about 40 cm. apart in rows about 50 cm. apart. Half the length of the stalk is buried in the loose soil. Sweet potato gardens must be weeded. When the plant has grown the length from finger tip to elbow, earth is mounded, about 25 cm. high, around it. Thus the potatoes develop in the mound and the harvest is easy. It is necessary in most of the Fulanga gardens to make the mounds by hand before planting, for the layer of soil coating the limestone is so thin that a stalk cannot be planted 20 cm. deep if the soil is not scraped together into a mound.

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Sweet potatoes are harvested three or four months after planting. The gardener takes out only those that seem fully grown and puts them into a basket. The partly exposed roots are covered with soil again, and the undeveloped potatoes are left to ripen. If a whole plant is taken out he often pinches off a twig and immediately plants it on the spot where it has been growing.

Yams

The varieties of yams (*uvi, Dioscorea*) found in Lau are: *kasokaso* (the most chiefly yam in Lau; a few on Kambara, none on Mothe), *kaumaile* (longest of all yams), *ndamuni* (on Mothe and Kambara), *matasi, veavea, siva mbalavu, poa, loutolu, taniela, vakathaiyanggona, tchikonotchivaro, rauva, tamboani, tua, muala, tambuakara, tambua ndrokandroka, volimbalavu, volileka* (most of the Namuka yams are of the last variety, which is considered a fine yam); *uvi ni Foatuna* (yam of Futuna), *rauitchi, vurai, ndakulevu, lokaloka, masoa, tambu tatavu*. The *tchivoli* (wild yam) is delicious but small.

Hocart (15, p. 102) writes: "Yams are the staple food of Lau, ... The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation." Yam is the staple on Lakemba, but on Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava it is little cultivated. In 1933-34 there was on Kambara one yam patch covering about 50 square meters. The harvest brought 300 pounds of yams at best, but the Kambarans say they usually have fewer yams. Fulanga and Ongea grow yams occasionally, but a few wild yams are found in the bush. These non-yam growing islands do not import yams unless a visiting relative from elsewhere brings a few for his host. On Mothe and Namuka yam ranks third in importance as a food.

Setareki of Mothe explained:

> Our land is good, yams will grow very well, but they demand too much work. The soil must be worked thoroughly, it must be kept clear of weeds. If we plant manioc or sweet potatoes we need to clean the land only once, for they branch quickly and keep down the wild grasses without our help. Then, too, the harvest of potato and manioc is easy, but the yam must be dug out of the deep soil. Furthermore, with manioc or sweet potato, we need to plant only a branch or a twig, which otherwise would be thrown away, while with yam we have to put into the ground what we have taken out before, a perfectly good yam, perfectly fit to be eaten. That is bad.

Sweet yams are never called *uvi* (yam) by the natives; one always hears *kawai* (*Dioscorea aculeata*) or *kaile*, the name of a sweetish yam which now is rarely found.

According to Moto, as the sweet yam harvest was taken from the ground one yam or a piece of one was planted again on the same spot. Sometimes a piece or a few pieces were taken nearer to the hamlet and planted there, but the natives never made sweet yam gardens. However, sweet yam is said to have

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241 been the first vegetable to be planted on the limestone islands. Old people say that it was there before the Tongan conquest, but that gardening began with the coming of the Tongans. *Kawai* is esteemed on the limestone islands. It grows wild on Mothe and Namuka, but is cultivated on Fulanga, Kambara, and Ongea.

Natives say that in the past a feast was held in the village after the planting of the first yam.

Sugar cane

Sugar cane grows on some islands of Lau. Mothe has little cane and does not plant it. About two square meters of cane land is found on Kambara. Occasionally the cane is cut down, but it grows again. Fulanga and Ongea grow no sugar cane. (For sugar cane on Lakemba see Hocart, 15, p. 107.)

Maize, cabbage, onions

There are a few patches of maize (*siliva*) on each island. One or two ears are often seen hanging in the house to be planted in October or November. When the ears ripen in the months of February and March, they are brought home by men and usually eaten raw, but Lauans do not especially like corn.

Chinese cabbage (*kapetchi*) is well liked, but is planted in very small quantities on some islands.

Lauans like onions and plant a few at any time of the year.

FRUIT TREES

Coconut

245 The most common varieties of coconut are the following: *niu wai* (water coconut) also called *niu ni Tonga* (Tongan coconut), *niu rerenga* (yellow coconut), *niu ndrau* (one *hundred coconuts*), *niu ni mangimangi* (sennit coconut), and *niu leka* (short coconut). The *niu wai* grows largest of all coconuts but does not have a fine flavor. It has a thick husk and shell. The plantations, running along the beach wherever the cliff retreats, have few *niu wai*, because this variety has not been known long in Lau. *Niu rerenga* is so called because the leaves are yellow green. The flesh of the *niu rerenga* is especially white. *Niu ndrau* grow in one close cluster. They are small (about the size of a man's fist), but have the finest flavor, are excellent for drinking, and have a thin husk and shell. *Niu ni mangimangi* is considerably longer than [283] any other variety, therefore it furnishes the longest and also the toughest fiber for sennit. The *niu leka* tree grows only up to 5 meters, and yields a good crop. It is found only in the villages or in young plantations.

Coconuts are planted at any time of year, usually at the side of or behind a house. The nut is covered with a little soil, and when the sprout is about 40 cm. high the nut is transplanted to a spot in a coconut grove where a tree

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

266 When one considers the limited food resources of these
727 islands in the past, it seems small wonder that cannibalism was common. The motive behind most of the cannibalism in Lau, however, seems to have been revenge. After a successful raid the bodies of captured enemies were trussed like pigs and steamed in large earth ovens used especially for this pur-
[578] pose. The bodies were called *mbakola,* a term still used to inflict the most deadly of insults. They were presented with other food to the war god at the temple and later consumed by men, women and children as part of the victory feast. Informants say that there is no act more humiliating to the relatives of a fallen enemy than the consumption of his flesh by the victors.

241 The food resources of the famine isles have been increased
177 considerably with the introduction of food plants in recent times. Tapioca and sweet potato have supplemented jungle roots, nuts, leaves and fruit as staples on Kambara, and within the memory of aged informants the people have changed from warlike food collectors to peaceful gardeners.

539 BUSHY-HAIRED BROWN NATIVES

"The guardians of the mountains sing on,
The calves of their legs are like shaddocks,
Their red turbans are the color of blood,
Like the fruit of the *vutore* tree floating down a river."

From a Fijian song.[3]

142 The most striking physical feature of the Lauans, as of other
302 Fijians, is their black frizzly hair which stands up on end six or eight inches from the scalp. In the past, young warriors proudly nurtured their "big heads" which stood out almost a foot. The hair is a very important part of one's physical appearance in Lau, and more time is devoted to it than to any other part of the body. Coarse, stiff, well groomed hair

[3] Basil Thompson, *The Fijians,* London, 1908, p. 130.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands [241] before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent [177] times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle 222 products formerly provided the staple food. According to 262 informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was [231] supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, [225] and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, 439 food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in 463 exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight 476 modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the 614 whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

Before mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

177 241 life and the inhabitants changed from collectors to gardeners. More recently, maize, Chinese cabbage, onions, and other plants have been added to the list, but these latter have not greatly altered the native diet. Since its introduction in the 177 nineteenth century, tobacco has been in great demand. Men 276 and women smoke as much of the strong Fijian grown weed as they can beg, borrow, or steal. They roll it into cigarettes wrapped in dried banana leaves, and use a burning brand for a light unless matches are available. However, in spite of the great demand, little tobacco is grown in the southern islands. Frequently the natives cannot wait until the local product is dried, and they scorch the green tobacco leaves on coals before smoking them. To dry properly, tobacco leaves must be hung up for several weeks in Lau. During this time they are in constant danger of being filched. Once while explor- [778] ing a sacred cave which the natives were afraid to enter, I came upon several pounds of tobacco leaves hung up to dry. A bold and original soul had solved the tobacco problem by allowing his ancestor ghosts to protect his leaves for him.

621 177 476 The economic life of the natives has also been affected by the concentration of the population in coast villages. This separated the people from their gardens and necessitated a journey, usually of some distance, to work the land and harvest the crops. Although the new social grouping did not alter the basic economic unit, which remained the household or the sub-clan, it led to the cooperation of a larger group than heretofore, namely the village, in communal enterprises such as house and canoe building and fishing expeditions.

177 797 805 Other changes due to the introduction of Christianity have had a marked effect on the native economic life. The observation of Sunday and the weekly cycle brought into economic life a regularity later worked into a definite schedule by the colonial officials through native regulations. This weekly schedule is observed today. Saturday is set aside for preparing

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

without a plow and draught animal, more systematic hoeing and weeding with adequate tools and the use of manure would improve the crops. However, even such small changes cannot be brought about without a systematic program of education. Since the natives have a strong abhorrence against the use of manure as fertilizer, because they regard it as unclean, either its effect would have to be demonstrated so convincingly as to win converts, or mineral fertilizer would have to be imported. Improved methods of gardening would have to be taught and demonstrated by the village school teacher to the school children. This would be easy for a trained teacher since one of the duties of the children is to compensate the teacher for his time by helping him with his garden.

The problem of the preservation of food against scarcity is not easy to meet in a community where in the first place food is scarce, and in the second place the system of soliciting deprives an industrious man of any hard-earned surplus he may accumulate. Just as the whole economic system works against the accumulation of wealth, so also it discourages the preservation of food, and tends toward the hand-to-mouth existence we find in southern Lau. There are, however, two possibilities in the native system which might be used to encourage the storing of food. One is the custom of presenting the first fruits of the harvest to the chief, and the other is the inter-island ceremonial exchange.

The headman of a clan of the lower class on each island holds a hereditary title (*vaka vanua*) which I have called "chief of crops." Formerly his duty was to impose a tabu regularly on each of the main crops of the island as they matured. He did not raise the tabu until each crop was fully ripe, when the "first fruits" were presented in the form of a cooked feast to the chief, and eaten by the whole island or the village. The "chief of crops" is still an important personage in Lau, but only on the island of Mothe does he perform this function regularly. Each time an offering of "first fruits" is

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 made, however, part of it might be set aside by the chief or
24/ the "chief of crops" to be preserved, according to the native method of burial in a leaf-lined pit. This reserve food would be used only in case of need by the whole community. In the same way, when an inter-island communal exchange is held, part of the food acquired by a famine island might also be set aside and stored. It might be possible to put the hereditary "chief of crops" in charge of the preservation of the island resources, and thus strengthen a native hereditary office which still survives but has recently lost most of its former functions and prestige.

624 Another such office which might prove of value if reinforced
226 politically is that of the master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). The natives complain that since the master fisherman has lost much of his former power to supervise the fishing of the island, the catch has dwindled. Fewer fish are caught daily because the fishing grounds are constantly disturbed by small fisher groups, and there are fewer large communal expeditions. If the master fisherman were backed by the government he could systematically supervise the fishing of the island. This would not only increase the food supply but also add zest to life because the natives love a large communal fishing expedition or a turtle hunt.

137 An important source of food which the natives tend to neglect today is collecting in the jungle. Bush food such as the *wangiri* and the *yangai,* which were formerly staples and are now ignored, could be utilized more than they are. *Yangai* sweetened with the *ti* root makes a particularly delicious sweet pudding. Moreover, most islands could accommodate more fruit trees such as breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut and *ndawa* (*Ponetia pinnata*), which are important as food, and since a fruit tree belongs to the man who plants it there would be no difficulty concerning proprietary rights over the fruit. Certainly there are many spots in the jungle where wild yams, also a delicious and nutritious jungle food, would

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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THE RELATIONS OF MEN, ANIMALS, AND PLANTS IN AN ISLAND COMMUNITY (FIJI)[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

121 THE problem of the ecological base of cultural phenomena is undergoing reconsideration by anthropologists from various points of view.[2] As part of this trend the present paper attempts to relate and interpret, from a total ecological viewpoint,[3] field findings of a geologist, a botanist, a naturalist and an anthropologist on an isolated community in Fiji.[4] Although the available data are limited, particularly as regards the botanical and zoological aspects of the problem, they seem to be sufficient to meet the needs of the present effort, which is designed to test the usefulness of a total ecological approach.

131 The community selected for study is located at the southern end of the
133 Lau or Eastern Archipelago, a north-south belt of 100 small islands, 30 of
101 which are inhabited. It consists of an isolated group of six inhabited islands and their uninhabited satellites.[5] Three inhabited islands, namely Fulanga, Ongea and Namuka, as well as all of the uninhabited ones, are composed of limestone. The other inhabited islands, namely Mothe, Komo and Kambara, are formed either wholly or in part of volcanic rocks.

133 No two islands are exactly alike in structure or mode of origin but in general the volcanic islands (e.g., Mothe) are eroded to rounded, reed-covered hills and gentle slopes or low, rocky promontories. They have miniature drainage systems which originate at high points near the central interior and form
[134 small streams with dentritic patterns. Their valleys are lined with relatively
241] deep, rich soil which supports a variety of vegetation including yams (*Dioscorea*) and other garden crops.[6]

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[1] I take this opportunity to thank Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., John Collier, Harry S. Ladd, Emma Reh, Ward Shepard, Albert C. Smith and Margaret Titcomb for help or comments on the manuscript.

[2] *See*, for example, Gayton, 1946; Hallowell, 1949.

[3] The term "total ecological viewpoint" is used to include the relations of organic species, including man, to one another in environmental context.

[4] The field projects on which this paper is based were unrelated and none of the researchers collected or analyzed their material systematically within a total ecological frame of reference. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., naturalist, made a survey of the Lau group in 1924. Dr. Albert C. Smith, taxonomist, collected plants in 1934. Dr. Harry S. Ladd, geologist, studied the geology of Lau in 1934; and I investigated a culture-historical and culture contact problem in 1933–1934. Unless otherwise specified, conditions and institutions are described as of 1933–1934.

[5] The inhabited islands are Mothe, Komo, Namuka, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea. The uninhabited islands are Karoni, Tavunasithi, Wangava, Marambo, Yangasa Levu, Navutu-i-loma, Navutu-i-ra, Yuvutha and Ongea Ndriki.

[6] Bryan (MSS.) states: "The dominant plant over much of the volcanic islands is a plume grass, *Eulalia japonica*, called *ngasau* by the natives. There are also several species of wiry ferns, including the "staghorn"; a low scrub, made up of about a half a dozen widespread species of

[pp 1-252 not processed]

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

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The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were
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abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under
[184]
tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

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When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The 245 main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
241 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
320 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

1 [i.e.--anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --analyst]

[FULANGA I]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake. [231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake [161] and Muanairs are close together on the south ocean side. The former has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population 487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women 462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The [226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and [241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa). [320] [285] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local 295 consumption only. 241

[p. 16]

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[361] S. NAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster. (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 38' W.) It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of uplifted coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of cocoanut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may
[487] be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a cocoanut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~bbbbbbb~~ numerous.

361
161 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a population of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
181
245 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
241 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
177 but very little carving.
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[p. 23]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Nanuku-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of coconut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of coconut palms. 226 There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating 241 and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised. 281 285 231

13 Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

[ONEATA I]

361 certainly more than the reported 25 houses. Sakuilua is much smaller,
[61] with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village.
366 Chinese at Naingguri, Japanese at Sakuilua. The people seemed
199 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
181
144 noticeable Rungan element.

241 Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
181 yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
285 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
287 and wood carving is done.
322

[p. 29]

13 Y. KOMO is a small island of volcanic origin lying 9 miles north of Namuka-i-Lau and 6 miles west by south of Nothe. (18.18° 41', 178° 39' W.). It is sub-crescent shaped, 1 1/2 miles long by 5/8 mile wide. On the north a ridge rises to an elevation of 270 feet from the sea, with moderately steep slopes, covered with grass, scrub, Pandanus and Casuarina trees. The summit is crowned by a small patch of coconut palms. The south side and west end are flat with cultivated areas and small groves of coconut palms.

Komo Ndriti, a small, rough, wooded islet of upraised coral limestone, lies a half mile off the west point.

A barrier reef encloses these islands on three sides, the northwest being open except for coral heads and a few small patches of reef. Here there are two good ship passages, 320 and 550 yards wide.

512 Although there are one or two small murky streamlets, rainwater is caught and stored in the village for drinking purposes.

13 Birds, lizards, rats and hermit crabs are the only wild land animals. Insects not very abundant and landshells scarce.

361 The village is located on the S.E. side, and consists of about 25
[161] houses. The natives, about 140 in number, are great fishermen, the
226 women using hand nets and basket traps, plated from beach vine, near
227 shore, while the men fish on the reef. They raise a few domesticated
462 pigs, fowl and dogs. Some little cultivation is done, especially of
231 sweet potatoes.
241

[p. 31]

13 10. KAMBARA is a moderately large, ovate island of upraised coral limestone with a volcanic intrusion at the N.W. end. The island is situated at the S.W. corner of the Lau group. Its south end rests upon the 19th parallel south and its west reef touches the 179th meridian west. It is 4 1/2 miles long and nearly 3 miles wide.

The greater part of the island is a wooded basin, surrounded by a continuous ridge of upraised limestone, up to 350 feet high, which drops abruptly toward the sea. The highest peak on the island, Delaioloi, is of volcanic material, 470 feet high, at the N.W. corner.

There is no harbor, but anchorage in 12 fathoms, sand and coral, may be had with the usual E or S.E. wind, off the N.W. corner, opposite the village of Tokalau. Landing is easy. At this point the barrier reef which surrounds the island is reduced to a line of coral heads.

[312] Water is not abundant on Kambara, but small supplies might be obtained at the villages, where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

● [241] Part of the N.W. end of the central basin has been cleared of forest and planted to sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, bananas and other native foods. The remainder of the basin is covered by a thick, tropical, "lowland" forest. Along the N.W., N.E. and S.E. sides the beach is a sand flat underlain by corse sandstone and covered with groves of coconut palms and the usual beach growth. Portions of the N., W. and E. sides are percipitous undercut cliff.

The familiar land animals; crabs, lizards and rats present. No snakes seen, although the natives report them present.

361 [161] There are four native villages: Tokalau, at the N.W. corner with 109 natives; Lomati, about a mile down the W. coast, is a small, but [368] clean and prosperous looking village with an attractive church and [161] 46 natives; Undu, at the S.E. end, situated in an extensive coconut grove, with 89 inhabitants; and Nggalinggali (Qaliqali), the largest

[KAMBARA I.]

361 [161] of the four, on the east side, a little north of the middle, with 150 residents. A trail leads across the basin from the latter to the 487 garden areas, which seem to be cultivated jointly by the people of the 241 three northern villages.

With the extensive timber at hand, the natives of Kambara have 396 long been noted for their canoe and boat building as well as for 322 various kinds of carving.

13 This is the largest of the dominately limestone islands and would be well worth concentrated collecting.

[p. 35]

13 11. MARAMBO Island is a small, nearly circular limestone island located 7 miles east of the south end of Kambara. (Lat.18° 59', Long. 178° 50' W.) The surrounding reef is fringing in character, about 1 1/2 miles on a side. The island is about 1200 yards in diameter, with a rough flat topped hill on the north, "160" feet high (nearer 200 feet), the summit having a densely wooded depression. Between this hill and the west beach, where there is a low ridge, is a small flat, wooded and with coconut palms. South of the hill is a broad area of rough "badlands".

There is no anchorage, but landing is good thru a gap in the reef on the north side, leading to a broad sandy beach.

[312] No fresh water noted.

The surface is covered with the usual thick lowland forest, and the sand beach has an extensive growth of coconut palms and beach plants, especially at the N. and S.W. ends. The usual birds and small crabs and lizards present.

361 The island is uninhabited most of the time. There are four
245 tumbled-down huts on the west side which are occasionally used by the
484 Kambara natives when gathering copra. The 1921 census gives a pop-
161 ulation of 8. At the time of our visit (Aug.26,1924) one of the huts
484 was occupied by a man and two boys, stranded en route from Komo to
241 Fulanga. Most of the island is too rough for cultivation, but in addition to the two groves of coconut palms there is a small cultivated area toward the S.W. end.

[p.36]

13 15. LAKEMBA is a large volcanic island located at approximately the center of Lau, (18° 12' S., 178° 47' W.). It is nearly oval in outline, 5 1/2 miles east and west by 3 1/2 miles north and south, with a wooded limestone point extending south another mile from the center of the south side. The interior is high, rounded and grassy, with numerous radiating valleys, and several peaks, all of about the same height, up to 720 feet elevation. At the N.W. end there is a conspicuous, wooded, flat-topped peak of upraised coral limestone, rising percipitously to a height of about 400 feet.

There is a well situated harbor for small craft on the S.W. side, off the village of Tumbou. It is difficult of access, thru a 50 yard entrance, because of the tide rip. Larger vessels can find anchorage within the lagoon formed by the barrier reef which extends several miles to the eastward, there being an entrance on the south-east. The island is surrounded by a fringing reef. There is an anchorage outside the reef off the west end, with an off-shore wind. On the north side the reef dries at about a quarter tide, forming a broad mud flat.

Water is abundant and fairly accessable. There is a stream in [317] every valley, and also a convanient pool on the beach near the west end anchorage, behind which rises an elevated limestone bluff. Supplies [366] may be obtained both at Tumbou and at a store near this west end pool.

The hills are covered with reed (or nasau grass), Pandanus, scrub, [241] and Casuarina trees. The valleys are fertile with extensive cultivated patches. A continuous line of cocoanut groves, together with other beach plants, fringe the shore. The limestone areas are well forested and on the east side, along the shore of the lagoon, there are extensive mangrove thickets.

Small animals and insects as on other islands of the group. The mosquitoes were abundant and troublesome. Quite a variety of bird life.

361 Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one
161 in Lau, with a population of 285. The others in order as one goes
[991] counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Bukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the
423 Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store,
366 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the
199 Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying
439 and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated
295 areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Consider-
241 able masi (tapa) is made.
287

Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by
799 British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys
871 from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

[p.49]

13 El. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E. ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W. of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W. side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture.
241

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naiau and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naiau, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier reef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of 181 262 food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166,p.375), we found the people quite 312 13 134 propperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small pockets of fertile soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and [241] crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised.

[p.58]

[VANUA MBALAVU I.]

361 the establishment of a good stable government in the western part of
[505] Fiji, and cutter service between the various islands and Levuka and Suva, most of its prosperity has vanished.

Another large village is Mualevu, at the east foot of Koro Mbasanga.
[366] This village has a good store and an abundant water supply, piped
[312] down from the adjacent valley, which contains the only real stream seen
[161] on the island. The population is given as 196. All the villages are
[487] connected by good trails.

241 The island is not as extensively cultivated as it might be. There are small areas of native food stuffs planted in the valleys and on the lower slopes behind the various villages. And the flats are occupied
13 by small groves of coconut palms. But most of the limestone region remains in native forest, and much of the grassy volcanic ridge is left in that state.

[312] Water is not very abundant, but may be obtained at the villages,
[366] especially Mualevu. Supplies may be secured there and at Lomaloma.

Anchorage is good in many of the bays, besides at Lomaloma, and landing is possible anywhere in the volcanic region and in many of the limestone bays. The limestone country is extremely rough and uninviting, but pockets may be made to support groves of coconuts, as at Nambavatu.

The "Bay of Islands", south-east of Ngillangilla, contains one long low island and several small islets. Here anchorage is good. Andavathi OV I. (250') and Yamuthaloa I. (160') lie to the S.S.E. of this bay.

[312] There is a hot spring near the gap between the volcanic and limestone formations at the south end.

[p. 69]

13 28. AVEA is a small island composed of elevated coral limestone and volcanic material, lying a little over a mile off the N.E. side of Vanua Mbalavu. It is 1 3/4 miles long by 1/2 to 5/8 mile wide, pointed at both ends and rising to a height of 600 feet. The center is a small, narrow, wooded plateau, from which rise the two peaks, Salia (600'), and Sangawelangi (about 500'). The slopes rise abruptly from a narrow beach covered with cocoanut palms. The island is fringed with a coral reef on the east side and is connected to the north reef by a coral strip, over which small boats can pass at any time of tide. On the S.E. side is a grassy volcanic hill, the slopes of which are under cultivation.

361 161 312 487 The village, Avea, is located on the S.W. point and has a population of about 60 natives. There is a small freshwater pool at the foot of a cliff on the south end. A good trail leads from here to the village.

172 Theee remains of an ancient village occupies part of the flat-topped plateau.

13 29. Malata is a small wooded island, of partly limestone and partly volcanic material. It is a continuation S.S.E. of the limestone ridge at the south end of Vanua Mbalavu, with which it is connected by a broad reef which dries at 3/4 ebb tide, with a gap of only a few hundred feet. The island is 1 1/2 miles long by 1/2 mile wide, and rises to a height in the center of 420 feet.

[361 291 295] The village is situated on the N.E. side, where there is a grassy and partly cultivated volcanic hill, with a grove of cocoanut palms. Other portions of the island are also of volcanic formation.

30. Susui is a somewhat larger island of limestone and volcanic formation, lying to the eastward of the south-east point of Malata, with which it is connected by a reef which dries at 1/2 tide. It is 2 1/3 miles long by 3/4 mile wide. The western half is of wooded, elevated coral limestone,

13 38. THIKOMBIA - I - LAU is a small limestone and volcanic island located on the east side of the lagoon, 5 1/2 miles N.E. of Munia. It is irregularly rectangular in outline, 1 1/4 by 1 1/8 miles, and rises to a height of 550 feet. The western part consists of a volcanic plateau surrounded by a ring of coral limestone hills, thus forming a raised basin, similar to Vanua Vatu. The eastern part is a steep hill with spurs of volcanic conglomerate, separated from the western mass by a low divide connecting the heads of two deep valleys. The south and east sides are furrowed by small valleys or pockets running back from the sea. Here the beach is alternately volcanic rock, sand and sandstone.

361 [161] 291 The village of Thikombia, on the S.W. end, consists of a dozen houses, with a population of 50. There are extensive cultivated areas in the volcanic basin, and small groves of coconut palms along the beach and in the N.E. and S.E. valleys. Water is not abundant, rainwater being waught and stored in a cement tank at the village.

312

Vessels may anchor in the lee of the island, and landing is good both at the village and on the north sand beaches. Trails lead up onto the plateau from both the north and south sides. A burial cave containing numerous skeletons was explored on this plateau.

13 487 764 172

[p. 76]

13 35. WAILANGILALA is a flat sand island underlain by coral limestone, a mile long and 600 yards wide at its widest ~~part~~ part. It is the most northern of the Lau Group, lying 18 miles N.N.W. from Kimbombo Islets. (S.16° 45', 179° 06' W.). The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 2 1/2 miles wide (E.& W.) by 3 3/4 miles N.& S. Thru this there is an entrance on the west 240 yards wide which admits vessels into the lagoon, where good anchorage may be found.

The island is thickly covered with littoral plants and cocoanut palms, reaching a total height of 70 feet above sea level. Toward the north there is a bare narrow isthmus, with a wooded section beyond, giving the appearance of two islands.

349 On the S.W. side is a 95 foot circular, white iron tower, with a 361 flashing white light, visible 15 miles. The lighthouse keeper and his 241 assistant have neat substantial homes near by. They cultivate small garden plots and dry copra from the extensive cocoanut grove. Some [312] vegetables and papayas may be obtained. Rain Water is stored in a tank.

114 An account of a boring made on this island in 1897 is given by Alexander Agassiz in the Bulletin of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Cambridge, Vol.XXXIII, pp.45 to 48, 1899. The island must have changed considerably in shape since that time, as it does not at present agree with maps given on pages 45 and 46. Even the position of the light-house is different.

[p.81]

13 [103] 37. YATHATA (or Cap island, so called because its profile resembles a cap with button) is a limestone and volcanic island, lying 18 miles S.W. of Naitaumba and 19 miles west of Kanathea. (S.17° 16', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef which also encloses the low limestone island of Kaimbu and several smaller islets and rocks. There is a boat passage on the N. side with good landing on a sand beach toward the N.E. end. There is no anchorage.

The island is 1 1/2 miles E.& W. by 1 1/2 miles wide. Toward the center there is a steep, flat-topped, wooded limestone peak, 840 feet high and on the S.E. a rounded, grassy volcanic hill. The coast on the east and N.W. is sandy with groves of cocoanut palms, and there are [241] cultivated area on the S.W. side of the central peak.

36 368 312 488 172 712 13 The village, with 25-30 native houses and a frame church, is located on the east side. S.W. of the village is a small fresh water pool. The island is traversed by trails. The ruins of an ancient fortified village occupies the summit of the central peak, Na Koro Levu (840'). The volcanic hill, called Dilla Thata, is about 500 feet high.

38. KAIMBU was not visited. It is about 1 1/2 miles long (NW-S.E.), by 13 1/2 mile wide. It is composed of elevated coral limestone, with a flat surface averaging 150 feet high. Portions are wooded, and others partly [241] cultivated. The small village is on the N.W. side.

[361] The small sand islet of Nukuluve, between Yathata and Kaimbu is densely covered with cocoanut palms. The 90 feet elevation is to the top of the vegetation. The other small islets, 20 to 30 feet high, are mostly coral limestone and of no great consequence.

[p.85]

13 [103] 40. VATU VARA I. (or Hat island, because of its resemblence, in profile from the E. and W., to a slouch hat) lies 9 miles south of Yathata. (S.17° 26', 179° 32' W.) It is surrounded by a fringing reef with a small shallow lagoon on the west. This island is the highest in Lau, the bold central peak rising to a height of 1630 feet. The slopes of this peak rise percipitously to a flat, crater-like summit, where the ruins of a fortified village are located. [172] [712]

The island is sub-circular, about 1 1/4 miles in diameter, with a square point on the S.E. It is composed of upraised coral limestone, densely wooded, and with small groves of cocoanut palms in pockets around the foot of the talis slopes, and on the beaches. It is privately owned by the estate of the late Captain Wilson. The neat, substantial homestead is located on the west side. Copra is produced. 423 361 245

Landing may be made without difficulty on a sand beach on the N. side, thru a small break in the reef, marked by a beacon. 13 507

There are no inhabitants except the caretaker and a few workmen. Water is not abundant, and but little cultivation is done. 464 161 312 241

[p.88]

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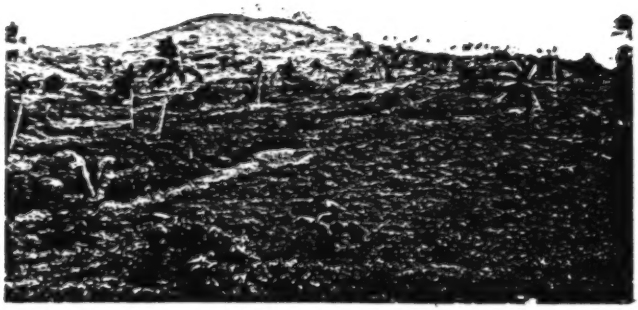
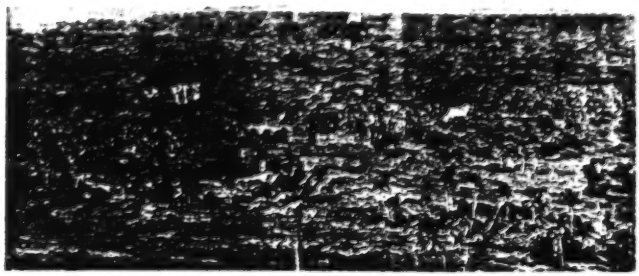


14. Delai oloi (470 feet), a volcanic peak on an otherwise limestone island. In the foreground are gardens cultivated by the natives. Kambara I.



15. From the summit of Delai oloi one obtains a fine view of the wooded central limestone basin of Kambara, stretching away to the S.S.E.

[p. 95]